614 Pekuma (9 persons), 28.2 acres, 3.1 acres per head) Timumu
Hajejopa (8 persons), 18.1 acres, 2.3 acres per head)
(If Jegase and Timumu are each taken as a whole, either unit has 2.7 acres per head.)

425 From data recorded for 104 parcels of land held by the Jegase and Timumu at some time over the past 2 generations we discovered 8 instances of transfers (involving 30 parcels) where the land had passed from the original holder to one of his co-resident kinsmen in another lineage or clan. There may well have been more, earlier examples of such transfers. If so they have been forgotten by the people who can conveniently treat all previous occasions when their land changed hands as instances of patrilineal inheritance.

614 423 Three members of these clan branches stated that they intended to transmit a total of 12 parcels to members of other clans (see Appendix E, pp.111-17). A Two other members intended to pass 5 to their adopted sons and 3 more parcels were to be inherited by an illegitimate child from his mother (see Appendix E, p.112). B One widower has nominated his sister's son as heir to his parcels of land and claimed that his sister's son could also receive his brother's land, allegedly forfeited through long and continued absence (see Appendix E, pp.112-13). C One man said he would leave 8 parcels to members of his adoptive group and the 5 inherited by his wife would pass to a person of the same group, a different genealogical branch of her lineage (see pp.60-1). D

Land rights of various kinds are acquired and maintained as a function of one's relationships with any of a number of groups. Most proprietary rights are acquired within the range of sources provided by patrilineal and matrilateral kin and other cognates and affines but adoptees may also acquire proprietary rights within landholding groups. In most cases noted where a man had been adopted by a member of his own or a nearby village he had continued to exercise in full his rights to the land of his natal group.

597 727 425 In former times it was not uncommon for a successful warrior to bring back the son of a victim he had killed during an intertribal raid. The child would be brought up as a full member of the adoptive group and would acquire land rights there. (Any newcomers' descendants, such as the Arehu lineage, may be absorbed into a narrow adoptive group of agnates while they are incorporated only marginally into the wider descent group.)

597 There are frequent instances of temporary foster relationships at Sivepe. Although a man who adopts a local child sometimes acts only as a foster father without needing to grant land rights, an adoptee needs neither to be destitute nor to relinquish any

A,[See Category 428, pp. 111-117--Analyst] B,[See Category 428, p. 112--Analyst]
C, [See Category 428, pp. 112-113--Analyst] D,[See Category 597, p.60--Analyst]

361 The new village sites also reduced walking time to the gardens.

648 722 The war of 1939-1945 affected the Yega in several important ways. Their territory became one of the major battlefields of the Pacific War. Every person migrated from the area with the exception of one old crippled woman who somehow managed to survive for eighteen months in the bush. Almost all able-bodied men served in the army or labour corps and the women and children lived at another Anglican mission about thirty miles to the north. When they returned, they found all buildings, and any belongings that they had left behind, destroyed and most of their coconut palms cut down or damaged by gunfire.

648 701 722 727

727 659 199 There were some compensations. The Australian Government paid thousands of dollars in war-damage compensation for all trees and property but, more important, the stimulus of travel, and meeting and working with Australian and American soldiers, gave the younger men in particular a broader view of life which triggered off changes in their traditional economy. In addition, the transfer of the Administrative headquarters from Buna to Higaturu resulted in the construction of a major road to the port of Cape Killerton and brought the Yega into closer touch with the outside world than ever before. As a result, between 1945 and 1950, about twenty families left their re-built villages and moved east to found the new village of Surilai at Cape Killerton (Fig. 9). Men living at Surilai have since found regular employment on the Government wharf at Cape Killerton.

727 199 491 361 166 [464]

178 433 464 466 Major post-war changes in the Yega economy have resulted from their attempts to increase their cash earnings. Before the war many men worked as indentured labourers on plantations or on the wharves at Port Moresby

(P. 13-A) [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14-B]

621 social distance also. Relations between Inonda and Ureo or Hohota,
628 from which Inonda recruited wives, were distinctly less friendly than those prevailing between, say, Sivepa, Garoubi and Binduta. (See my doctoral dissertation and also Hogbin, 1966.)

If we seek an explanation for the far greater heterogeneity
563 of Inonda, we find two historical causes in this sample: a war and
621 a disaster. The link with Kendata came through the Managalasi man;
167 the links with Sangara came as a result of the eruption of Mt. Lamington. Admittedly, this Sangara link was of a modern type, the central figure being a mission teacher. The residential pattern however is ancient: due to some vicissitude, a man settled with his affines; this led to further marriages between his village of origin and his village of residence. He was given enough land to cultivate for subsistence. In this case, the Sangara immigrant still quoted his own clan name when asked; the Managalasi man did not.

If we go back a little further in the history of Sivepa, even only one generation beyond the present residents, we find much the
● [727] same pattern as still survives in Inonda. The capturing of young
[423] orphans was a commonplace event among the Orokaiva, as were also migrations to escape from enemies. Sometimes the fugitives or the orphans returned eventually to their village of origin, looking for a friendly relative who was willing to meet their claims to the land of their fathers. In going back a few generations into the past, one never knows for certain who is a new immigrant and who is a claimant for ancient rights.

The tendency is always to obliterate the traces of alien origin, to drop alien phonetical habits and alien use of grammar and
[773] vocabulary as soon as possible. On the other hand, myths of the place of origin will still be transmitted to the children, so that anyone collecting tales among the Orokaiva will be presented with a variety of versions of different local origin. Many of the best ones I collected were of Kiorota origin because the father of old man who told the stories came from that district about 45 years ago. Furthermore, the links with the place of origin are rarely broken off, not even in the case of women or babies who were abducted as war captives. The immigrant wishes to keep alive his land rights in his place of origin. The people of his native village in return wish to exploit any advantages there may be in the connection between their absent clansman and his hosts. This connection will be kept alive by further intermarriages.

Immigrants and their descendants therefore retain multiple
167 loyalties. As these loyalties are kept alive over the generations
563 by intermarriage, use of trees in the other village, fishing and hunting rights, and as migration used to be very common before the pax Australiana, such multiple loyalites are extremely common. I am not quite sure how these loyalties fared in time of war, but I understand that if two men who were linked by such relationships found themselves on opposite sides in a war, they were unlikely to fight each other though stories are told of unfortunate accidents. I have

should be formed . . . (and that) as a result of their activities the white people would leave Papua and the villagers would be in charge of their own affairs." This type of cooperative movement was stimulated after the war, and included putting crosses in the gardens, offering prayers before gardening activity, building special houses in which cooperators could meet and eat, and collecting money for vague purposes. Even in the face of Mission reluctance and some Orokaiva opposition, Government finally stepped in to try to give it better direction; a Cooperative officer was trying to bring the situation under control when the volcano exploded.[8]

As final pieces in this background mosaic, the effects of World War II may be noted. When the Japanese moved in they formed labor gangs with the small number of captured whites, including Mission workers, later removing them when Allied attack was imminent. As battles ranged through the area, Orokaiva were drawn in as helpers, willingly or otherwise, on both sides of the lines. After the Japanese surrender, American forces built up large military establishments including airfields in the Buna-Oro Bay zone. Great numbers of Orokaiva were gathered together in work camps which were not unlike the present refugee camps as regards living conditions, food, and social structuring. In the wake of the war, War Damage Compensation representing considerable money wealth by Orokaiva standards came into the area. Some of the younger men who were "veterans" were given technical training at Higatura and elsewhere.

These Orokaiva were generally resistant to a war-stimulated movement to consolidate into larger settlements although it has had considerable vogue along the coast and in the Kokoda region. Typically, the new villages have been built in an open area, with houses drawn up like a military encampment on three sides of a square or rectangle. The inner square is used for soccer football, which is tremendously popular, and for other community purposes. Subsequent to the eruption, the Orokaiva who resettled along the jeep-roads outside the danger zone were encouraged by Government officers to build this type of village, and the houses were laid out under the official eye. First, the men left the relief camps to erect buildings, and were followed later by the women and children. These new settlements contain anywhere from 100 to 400 persons, with the kin and hamlet alignments usually kept through contiguous housing. Such units are within sight of one another, and from the air resemble a chain of fairly continuous settlements. Some family and hamlet groups, however, have inconspicuously avoided settling in these new villages although this has been difficult because Government has tried to keep a very tight supervision in case its judgment as to the danger perimeter has been wrong. A government post was established in each of the two main resettlement zones to facilitate this supervision.

Belshaw has observed this resettlement in a somewhat more advanced stage than was seen by the writer. He comments that in general the prime concern of the people was

2. Belshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-252, gives a fuller account of this cooperative movement and its significance. Publications of the Anglican Mission also contain references, seen by the writer some years ago, but not available at the time of writing this paper.